CHINA WEEKLY

REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

WFTU Meeting:

Labor Moves Ahead In China

THE PEOPLE'S RAILWAYS

T. P. KING

COLLECTIVE WAGE AGREEMENTS

MARY BARRETT

EDITORIALS:

WHAT'S IN A NAME?
POLICY OF LENIENCY

NOVEMBER 26, 1949

JMP 1,500

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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(Editor & Publisher, 1918-1947)

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Index for November 26, 1949

Editorial Paragraphs

Policy Of Leniency 194
What's In A Name? 195

Special Articles

Collective Wage Agreements ..... *Mary Barrett* 197
Labor Moves Ahead In China 199
Vietnam Fights Twin Scourges ..... *Catherine Peake* 201
The People's Railways ..... *T. P. King* 203

Economic Section

The Week's Business 209

Departments

Letters From The People 193
25 Years Ago 196
News Of The Week 205
Chinese Papers Say 207
Chinese Magazines Say 208
The Review's English Lesson CVII ..... Back Cover

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

OPEN THEIR EYES

To The Editor:

With the brilliant military achievements of the Chinese Liberation Army during the past few months and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, which was hailed and celebrated with so much rejoicing in nearly every part of the country, it has certainly become an undeniable fact that the present new government of China has the most loyal support of the whole Chinese nation.

But I regret to say that there are still not a few people, especially those from America and England, who keep on holding a doubtful, or what they call "objective," view of the present state of affairs in New China and continue to shut their eyes to facts.

I don't think, however, that the great majority of those people entertain so many misgivings toward the new government simply because they are personally sympathetic with imperialists or reactionaries. As far as I know, this is chiefly due to the fact that they are either deluded by malicious propaganda or misled by the kind of education they have received, which was all for the service of imperialism.

It is not until they are enlightened and told of the universal truth that they will come to realize their own mistakes and begin to take a quite different view of all the new things in China and in the world at large.

It is highly desirable, therefore, for the Review to devote some space every week to the discussion of Marxism-Leninism and topics on the materialistic history of society. I also suggest that occasional comments or explanations on important documents or editorials in Chinese papers be made so that the true motives of the new government of China can be better understood by all those who as yet judge things from an entirely biased standpoint.

In carrying out the above suggestions, I believe the Review will be contributing a real service to the Chinese people and peoples of the world in their common struggle for democracy and lasting peace.

JOHNSON NING

Tungli, Wukiang
November 6, 1949

PRAISES POLICE

To The Editor:

"In the good old days I could depend on the police for settlement, but of course, there is no police system now. . . ." An American evacué said it the day before his departure in reference to hints only of threats that there might be some "trouble from the workmen."

Had I heard his statement a few days earlier, I could only have countered with numerous instances of police courtesy in helping the blind and decrepit to cross streets, in giving directions to all who ask, in enforcing traffic regulations and thus preventing

(Continued on Page 210)

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
密勒氏評論報
A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

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POLICY OF LENIENCY

NOW that the civil war is fast drawing to a close and China is setting out on a new road, there will have to be an entirely new evaluation of Chinese history. Causes and consequences will have to be delved into and conclusions will have to be set down for future generations of students, both here and abroad.

Ranking high in importance among these conclusions, we believe, will be the fact that the war was greatly shortened and the reconstruction of the country expedited by the policy of leniency adopted toward those non-war criminal members of the opposition who gave up resistance and joined with the Communists and other progressive elements in building a new society.

This policy—which contrasts sharply with the theory of extermination held by the KMT—has not been restricted to the military field alone, but may be witnessed in almost daily incidents in the political and economic spheres.

This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the new authorities are aiming at a radical change in the political and economic system in the country. We believe this is one of the more significant developments and one which should occupy a prominent position in the history of this particular period in China.

Some observers, after glancing at the newly-published lists of ranking government officials and discovering many a familiar name of a former Kuomintang bigwig, have deduced that the new authorities are risking a tempering of their announced policies for social change. Some even go so far as to state that China's "traditional" solution of problems through "compromise" is once again being demonstrated.

Such an interpretation, we believe, misses the essential point. The new regime, first of all, can afford to be lenient toward any former "enemies" now willing to cooperate because it is in firm military control of the country and, what's more, does not have to fear the people since it has come to power with the enthusiastic support of the peasants and workers who together make up the vast majority of the population.

This is not a compromise made because of weakness, but a welcoming extended to capable people, regardless of their past activities, by a regime fully confident of its own position and desirous only of securing all available talent for the country's reconstruction.

Strictly speaking there has been a "compromise" of sorts, since it has been officially noted that the Common Program of the PPCC, which fails to mention socialism, is the "minimum program" of the Chinese Communist Party. However, it has been made clear that the goal is still socialism (ultimately to be succeeded by communism). It has been further pointed out that the path laid down in the Common Program can lead only to socialism.

We doubt if such a policy of leniency has ever been adopted before by a new government which has come to power after a long and bitter civil war, particularly one fought on such basic issues. Such a policy is beneficial since it secures trained men for the new regime and also because it lessens the possibility of effective opposition on the part of the old gang. If all individuals who formerly had connections of one sort or another with the KMT were banned from participation in the reconstruction of the country, such disfranchised people would very likely constitute an opposition force.

As it is, this taking in, even welcoming, of such elements cuts the ground even more fully from under any possible counter-revolutionary movement.

It is, of course, quite true that the situation in China has made such a policy possible. If the KMT had not degenerated so fast and so far, it would have probably had more support. In recent years only its own officials and armies kept it patched together. The traditional classes which would have been expected to support an anti-socialist regime were often indifferent and, in many cases, anxious for a change.

In short, the KMT, through its inflation of the currency, its corruption, its brutality, and its inefficiency had squeezed the country dry and had sapped the strength of the classes upon which it depended for support. The KMT made proletarians out of large numbers of people who in normal circumstances would have remained owners of land or other property and who would thus have been opposed to socialism.

From all present indications, thanks both to KMT stupidity and to the surprisingly lenient attitude of the new authorities, China's path during this early period of preparation for socialism may be a great deal easier than has been the case in other countries. The opposition in Soviet Russia, for example, was quite strong among many elements of the population for a number of years. Today in Czechoslovakia there is active opposition, led by the Catholic Church which is receiving support from abroad.

In China, so far as we can determine, the country is already pretty well united and there is little chance that those—especially those foreign opponents of the new regime—who hope to locate and aid dissident elements will find much opportunity for such subversive activity.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

A PRESS dispatch from New York last week reported that "despite British opposition" the United Nations' General Assembly adopted several resolutions giving its Trusteeship Committee more power over "trust territories." The Trusteeship Committee is the organization set up by the UN to supervise the actions of the various powers charged with the task of administering or governing "trust territories," which is the name given to former colonies, such as those taken away from Italy at the end of the war.

This new terminology is supposed to indicate the ushering in of a new era in world affairs in which the politically advanced nations of the West recognize that the days of colonialism are past and that today the most developed nations must assume the responsibility for bringing material and spiritual enlightenment to the world's undeveloped regions.

The first proposal made at the meeting was one asking for the seats of administration to be inside the trust territories. The Trustee Committee apparently believed that it was better to have the foreign governorship or other administrative organ located in the territory being governed, rather than in the capital of the supervising country which might be half way across the globe.

This proposal was opposed by Britain, whose representative, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, termed the idea impractical and said it constituted unjustified interference in the affairs of the administering nation.

Voting was 29 in favor of the proposal and 15 against it with seven members failing to vote. The measure was thus defeated since a two-thirds majority is required for approval.

The next proposal asked administering powers to reveal within a year plans to develop inhabitants of trust territories toward self-government. Twenty-one nations were against this idea. Twenty-nine voted in favor, while seven members failed to vote. Since the majority was not two-thirds, this, too, was rejected.

The third proposal by the UN Committee asked administering authorities to speed self-government or independence. Britain, the story reported, was "a lone force in opposition."

Extra in the street.—Ko Yang

With these three proposals disposed of—the first two rejected and the last one accepted—the UN Assembly "raced through five other resolutions, four opposed by Britain."

These proposals, all accepted, were:

1) To give visiting United Nations missions power to report on political, economic, social and educational development.

2) To give inhabitants "greater participation" in the profits and management of colonial enterprises.

3) To prohibit child marriage and recommend abolition of corporal punishment for breaches of labor contracts.

4) To recommend greater educational facilities for the inhabitants.

5) To ask the administering authorities to fly the United Nations flag as well as their own flag.

Unfortunately, the dispatch fails to tell us just which of these five proposals Britain failed to oppose. While it perhaps is not proper to speculate, our guess is that the fifth proposal, the one calling for the flying to the UN flag, would have been the least objectional of the bunch to Mr. Fletcher-Cooke.

* * *

IT is extremely significant, however, that more than four years after the end of a war which was fought, among other things, to rid the world of oppression and the "master race" theory and guarantee all mankind a better life we have the spectacle of the United Nations Assembly proposing and opposing, accepting and rejecting a series of measures designed to secure for still oppressed peoples a few feeble rights.

While all of these proposals are certainly in the proper direction, they are just barely so and are characterized mainly by their meekness. We fail to see how representatives of modern states, the governments of which almost daily proclaim loudly their adherence to democratic principles, can stand up in a United Nations meeting and oppose measures calling for the tiniest amount of improvement in their administration of backward areas.

How is it possible to be opposed to making all haste in aiding a backward people attain independence and self-government? Why should one be opposed to the abolition of physical punishment for a "native" who decides to break a labor contract? This seems especially puzzling if one happens—as does Mr. Fletcher-Cooke—to be the representative of a labor government. How can one be in favor of child marriages, or against education?

The raising of these proposals reveals several things. First it indicates the rotten conditions which must exist in these "trust" territories. The fact that the UN's Trusteeship Committee felt called upon to make such recommendations shows clearly the fundamental neglect—if not "backwardness"—of the administering powers.

The mildness of the proposals, especially in view of what actual conditions must be, as clearly indicated by the very proposals them-

selves, shows that the Trusteeship Committee basically is a pretty weak tool. If an administering or "trustee" nation allows such conditions to exist in a territory which it is supposed to be helping along the road to modernization and independence, it obviously is not a fit administrator. One might be justified in assuming that if the Committee, or the United Nations which it represents, had any real interest in these trust territories it would revoke the mandate of those powers responsible for allowing such conditions to remain uncorrected.

Lastly, the fact that even these half-hearted proposals were so vigorously opposed demonstrates that a number of the administering powers not only have "allowed" such conditions to exist, but are prepared to oppose any changes for the better. The administrators obviously approve of present conditions.

Unavoidably the question comes to mind as to why are these so-designated "backward" areas backward? Could it be that the manner in which they are being supervised by the trustee nations tends to keep them backward, undeveloped and, in the eyes of the West, therefore unfit for self-government or independence?

The name has been changed. No longer are the undeveloped countries in which the land and the people are owned by a foreign power, called "colonies." That is a bad word. It smacks of the 19th century and imperialism and is currently in disrepute among the more "respectable" governments. We now have "trust territories" which are under the protection of the United Nations which hands over the administration to a "trustee" nation which is charged with the responsibility of "developing" the areas in the best interests of the inhabitants.

One may call a thing by whatever name one wishes, but unless something besides the name is changed, it is still the same old proposition. "Colonies" or "trust territories"—we fail to see the difference.

Note On A Vanishing Race

(Colonial Administrators Species)

"Visitors entering the Colonial Month Exhibition in London passed through a typical African hut and found themselves in the moist heat of the jungle. The temperature and humidity were arranged to give the public the momentary sensation of the atmosphere in which many members of the Colonial Service work.

"The exit, by contrast, was through a model of the modern African dwelling house."—*Press dispatch from London.*

In which, no doubt, many members of the Colonial Service work.

Just The Guy We're Looking For

"Dr. Philip Jessup, United States Ambassador at-large, will tour the Far East and may visit Liberated China before deciding whether to recommend changes in America's overall policy in the Far East to the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, a State Department source said today."—*Press agency dispatch from Washington.*

We'll be looking forward to Dr. Jessup's visit, providing, of course, that he manages to make contact with the authorities of a regime which he doesn't recognize in order to obtain an entry permit and providing that he doesn't get in the way of the new heavy bombers which according to a *Voice of America* announcement on the same day, the American Government has just sold to the Kuomintang.

25 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Chinese Farmers

November 22, 1924.

That the farming population of China is hopelessly at the mercy of the rich and unless some fundamental measures are taken will continue to be so, is not doubted by even a casual observer. In normal years an ordinary farmer has but little opportunity to develop his most basic industry of food-production. In the first place he is deprived of the facilities of a proper banking system. He is not aware of the conditions of the money market. The best he can do when in need of some financial assistance is to pawn his personal effects. His farming implements go next, and finally his farm itself is offered as security for a loan.

He meets his financial problems in this way only under the most exacting terms. He is forced to pay an exceedingly high rate of interest, so high that his indebtedness rapidly swells to such an extent that he must borrow more in order to meet his existing obligations. The interest rate in the case of pawning his movable property at the pawnbrokers is generally 36 percent per annum, if the term of the loan is for three months. When he pledges his farm land he has to pay an equally high rate. He is usually given a chance to renew the loan if he agrees to pay a still higher rate. In most cases he ultimately parts with his property when the burden on account of the interest alone proves to be beyond him.

Isolated as they are, the farmers are hopeless. Within his own community he is unable to obtain adequate assistance. He is compelled to finance his plans elsewhere. He is then caught, as it were, by shrewd financiers of whom he is an easy prey.

The condition is bound to become worse. The tendency is to reduce free holders to tenants and to transform independent farmers to slaves of feudalism.

From: "Will the Chinese Farmers Remain Financially Independent?" by Y. S. Djang.

Soviet Trade Union Congress

M. Zinovieff strongly critized Ramsay MacDonald's democratic pacifism and urged universal union of all labor classes at a meeting of the Soviet Trade Union Congress in Moscow during the week under review. Present at this meeting was a delegation of British Trade Union Congress, one of whom endorsed Zinovieff's proposal, stating that he saw no reason or possibility of omitting Russian trade unions from it and another appealed for a union in the fight against capitalism.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Japanese Cotton Mill Pays High Dividend

November 25, 1939.

The Shanghai Cotton Manufacturing Company, Ltd., which operates cotton mills in the Shanghai district which are owned by the well-known Japanese Mutsui interests, has announced the highest dividend in the firm's history. The prosperity of the Company is attributed, in considerable measure, to the fact that practically all competing Chinese mills were bombed out of business or taken by the Japanese Army, while in addition the firm has enjoyed complete immunity from Chinese taxes or imposts of any character.

Chungking's Cost Of Living

The cost of living in Chungking has increased by 236 percent in two years and three months since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities, according to the price index compiled by the Southwestern Industrial Research Bureau.

The rise in the prices of commodities followed the transfer of the national capital from Nanking to the Szechuen city and the subsequent great influx as a result of the withdrawal of Chinese forces from the Shanghai and Nanking areas.

Collective Wage Agreements

Scores of trades in China's industrial cities are preparing for industry-wide contracts with labor. Minimum wage levels are coming under review.

LABOR-CAPITAL relations in China are reaching a point where collective wage agreements are being negotiated in a number of the larger industrial cities. In Harbin last month a People's Delegate Conference decided to encourage the adoption of such contracts, and a number of similar moves are underway in Shanghai, where scores of local trades, including paper mills, cotton and woolen textile mills, wine and grocery shops, knitting mills, shoe factories, electro-plating factories, pharmaceutical plants and the like are now engaged in preliminary investigation and study looking to the formulation of industry-wide labor contracts.

Already, the first such contract has been signed between management and labor in shops selling photographic equipment and chemicals in Shanghai, while several agreements have been concluded in Peking and Tientsin covering such trades as paper mills, tobacco factories, Chinese medicine dealers, house construction, and pedicab garages.

While collective bargaining contracts exist in the United States and other countries, notably Sweden and Great Britain, it is noteworthy that, in the United States particularly, they have come only after long struggle on the part of labor unions, first to organize individual factories and then an entire industry.

Process Reversed Here

In China, however, the process is being reversed. Not only are collective wage contracts regarded as a public question to be discussed at such meetings as the one in Harbin, but management is taking the initiative in preparing for industry-wide agreements. In Shanghai, for example, some 100 representatives of the managements of the city's textile mills met several weeks ago to discuss the possibility of entering into a collective agreement with the workers of that industry and set up subcommittees to study the question further. Similar committees have been set up by the Shanghai Dyeing and Weaving Merchants' Guild, the Paper Mills' Guild and the Guild of Rubber Factories, among others. These committees are investigating the prevailing scales of employees in the industry, the kinds of products manufactured and the scale of operation of the various factories.

The obvious advantage of industry-wide agreements, for management, is that they tend to equalize labor costs and thereby eliminate competition on that score. No one company can take advantage of cheap labor to undersell another. At the same time, such contracts benefit labor by increasing its organizational strength and making it possible to obtain benefits that would be impossible were a section of the industry unorganized.

Collective wage agreements also entail certain problems. For labor, if the agreement is nationwide, there are apt to be certain inequities in a standardized wage scale, since the cost of living varies from area to area in any country. Most such contracts, therefore, attempt to compensate in some way for regional differences. For industry, large companies have an advantage over smaller, more marginal firms in that the latter, due to inferior equipment or other disadvantageous factors, have a lower margin of profit and may not be able to afford as high wage scales.

The first presumably will not constitute a problem in China at present, since the contracts contemplated are citywide or, at most, regional in scope. As for the second, allowances are being made for the handicaps small operators face, as will be seen in the contract negotiated in the photographic equipment and chemicals selling trade.

Since this is the first such contract to be concluded in Shanghai, it may be interesting to examine its provisions.

The agreement, which is valid for a period of nine months, from July, 1949 to March, 1950, specifically sets forth the right of management to determine business operations and to direct the activities of employees. At the same time, however, management is expected to "respect reasonable suggestions made by the employees" and to consult with employees before making decisions which directly concern them.

The greater part of the agreement is concerned with the payment of wages, in which considerable effort appears to have been made to take into account both the livelihood of the workers and the capacity of management to pay. The principle is set forth that wages should be paid on a percentage basis of the business receipts of the firm. However, a minimum wage must also be maintained.

Dual Principle

This dual principle is worked out in the following fashion: In case the percentage of business receipts earmarked as wages falls 15 percent or less short of the minimum wage, management must make up the shortage. If it is more than 15 percent, management must pay the 15 percent plus one half of the remainder. Thus, for example, if the minimum wage is set at 100 parity units (the parity unit is based on the price of rice, cotton cloth, edible oil and coal briquettes) and the percentage of business receipts yields only 50 units, an additional 32.5 units must be paid by management, making a total wage of 82.5 units. On the other hand, if the percentage of business receipts reaches a figure higher than the basic pay set for the workers, the surplus is to be distributed among them to provide greater incentive. Since this is all worked out on a percentage basis, management's share would be larger too. In other words, both sides would profit proportionately.

In determining both the percentage of business receipts to be allotted for wage payments and the basic pay scales for workers, care has been taken to accommodate the needs of the smaller and less profitable shops. The trade accordingly has been divided into four categories, according to the size and capital of the shops, paying 26, 24, 22, and 20 percent of business receipts respectively as wages. In cases where a higher fixed percentage has been paid in the past, this is to be maintained unless the shop can demonstrate that it is doing a losing business. The basic pay scales for workers also vary according to these four categories as follows:

Basic Pay Scales

Class A shops: Maximum 90 units, minimum 55 units.
Class B shops: Maximum 81 units minimum 50 units.
Class C shops: Maximum 72 units, minimum 45 units.
Class D shops: Maximum 63 units, minimum 40 units.

Thus, a small shop, by earmarking a lower portion of its business receipts as wages and by carrying lower pay scales, is put in a more favorable position vis-a-vis the larger establishments and can compete with them on more equal terms. While employees in these small firms are at somewhat of a disadvantage, the idea presumably is that the arrangement nevertheless is beneficial to labor as a whole, since it enables the small shops to stay in business and thus provides more jobs.

With the employees' wages so closely tied to the amount of business receipts, the books of the shop are to be open to inspection at the workers' request. Should disputes arise with regard to the accounts, representatives of both the trade guild and the labor union are to investigate within 48 hours and work out a settlement.

In addition to the basic pay, provision is made for a standard food allowance for workers of five *tou* of rice a month (a *tou* is one tenth of a picul or about 16½ pounds). However, in shops where it has been the custom to provide workers with partial board, this amount is reduced and in those supplying full board no additional allowance is to be given.

With regard to apprentices, the number is not to exceed one-fourth of the total number of employees in the shop unless the majority of workers agree that more are needed. The period of apprenticeship is not to exceed three years, and apprentices are to be given adequate opportunity to learn the trade. Wage scales range from a maximum basic pay of

20 units for an apprentice with two or more years' experience in a Class A shop to a minimum of six units for a person with less than a year's experience in a Class D shop.

The agreement also takes up such matters as working hours, vacation time and leave with pay. Working hours in principle are not to exceed eight to 10 hours. Employees are to be given three days off per month, providing the business of the shop is not affected. Those who work during these holidays are entitled to 18 days leave with pay after six months. A special leave of 15 days is to be granted employees on the occasion of their marriage or the marriage, serious illness or death of members of their immediate family. Sick leave is to be granted with full pay for the first month and half pay for the second month. After that, management may decide, with the approval of the labor union, whether to continue employing the worker or discharge him with severance pay. Maternity leave is set at 45 days.

The agreement specifies that employees should not engage in union activities during business hours. However, union shop stewards may, upon presentation of a letter from the labor union, attend conferences during working hours.

Hiring And Firing

Questions concerning the hiring and firing of workers or a shift of business operations are to be settled according to the provisional labor regulations issued by the Shanghai People's Government last August. These regulations outline the procedures and machinery to be used in mediating labor disputes.

An interesting section of the agreement that should not be overlooked is that dealing with shop regulations, since it indicates the detail to which the agreement goes. The shop regulations specify, among other things, that employees must take good care of the equipment, should be polite to customers, punctual in observing working hours, turn out photographs promptly "so that customers will not be disappointed," make no "verbal commitment" in the name of the shop, and obtain the consent of management before bringing in friends and relatives for temporary board and lodging in the shop. They also provide that personal photographs of either management or labor must be entered into the business ledger and handled in the same way as those of regular customers, even though such work may be done free of charge or at special discounts. Minor violations of the shop regulations may be penalized by "persuasion, warning and demerits" according to the seriousness of the case, while gross violations subject the employee to discharge upon the consent of the labor union.

It will be noted that the basic pay scales for the workers in these photographic equipment and chemicals shops are not high. A maximum of 90 parity units in the Class A shops and a minimum of 40 units in the Class D shops works out to some JMP284,220 and JMP126,320 respectively according to the unit quotation for November 23. This is the equivalent of a little more than US$28 and US$12 at the official exchange rate for that day, plus food allowances.

However, according to various studies that have been devoted to the subject of minimum wage rates, the level cannot be very high at this stage in China's economy. The Sixth National Labor Conference declared that "the minimum wage of a general labor worker should be able to maintain the living of two persons, including the worker himself. The living cost of the worker himself should be calculated according to that of one unit of labor power (including clothing, food, housing, and necessary consumption of other items), while the dependent's living standard should be kept lower than the worker himself but not lower than the lowest level of livelihood of a single person."

How surplus labor is treated by the KMT and the People's Government is contrasted in this cartoon from the Giefang Rhbao. Under the KMT extra workers were unceremoniously kicked out of their jobs. Now they are given a chance to learn other kinds of work, helped in transferring to other industries, or aided in going back to their native places to participate in production.

Minimum Wage Calculation

A recent article by Kao Ming-hsueh in the Tientsin *Chiu Pu Jih Pao* goes into a lengthy analysis of the basis on which the minimum wage should be fixed. The wage should be set "in conformity with the principle of guaranteeing the livelihood of the workers," the article states. "It therefore should be studied scientifically and should not be decided on subjectively, blindly or arbitrarily. It should be adjusted to meet the various social conditions."

The article first discusses the number of dependents to be taken into consideration in determining the worker's wage. Here it brings forth statistics that may be surprising to outsiders schooled in the idea of large families in China. A survey of workers at the head office of the North Hopei Power Company showed that they had an average of only 2.9 dependents, half of them above the age of 18. Moreover, the article points out, these workers "are comparatively old and have worked for many years," whereas a worker of the lowest grade is generally young and most likely unmarried. It therefore concludes that "in the calculation of the minimum wage, it is correct to take the living cost of two persons into consideration. However, for workers of higher grades, the minimum wage should be able to take care of the living costs of three persons."

The article then goes into an analysis of food, clothing, housing and miscellaneous expenses. After citing studies of the caloric needs of persons engaged in various degrees of physical labor and the caloric content of food consumed in China, the writer lists a standard monthly diet for a light manual laborer and his wife in Peking as follows: 89 catties of cereal, 7.5 catties of beans, 3.75 catties of peanuts, 1.88 catties of pork, 30 catties of vegetables, and 1.88 catties of vegetable oil.

Clothing needs were estimated according to consumption by the People's Liberation Army, in which each soldier gets two sets of uniforms per year, one padded uniform and one overcoat every two years, one set of bedding every three years and one pair of stockings every two months. Reasoning that civilian workers should use clothing more economically than soldiers because "their living conditions are more peaceful," the article estimates that a worker's clothing needs for the next five years would amount to two sets of summer clothes, two sets of spring clothes, two sets of padded clothes, two padded

overcoats, one set of bedding, one padded mattress, and two bed coverlets, or an average of 6.7 feet of cotton cloth and one third catty of cotton per month. Based on Peking quotations for March, these clothing costs would amount to 30 catties of cereal per month.

Housing costs were calculated to cover rental and the cost of furniture and cooking utensils. The standard is one room of 20 square feet for each worker. At the same Peking quotations, another 25 catties of cereal a month is needed for this item.

Other items of necessary consumption were listed as coal, firewood, water, electric power, cleaning utilities, taxes, labor union fees, cigarettes, expenses for cultural purposes, amusement, etc. These costs were estimated at 75 catties of cereal.

The minimum living cost of a general laborer and his wife in Peking, the article concludes, should come to 270 catties of cereal a month.

In order to protect the workers from fluctuations in the market prices of commodities, the article states, wages should be based on the prices of those commodities which have the closest connection with the workers' livelihood. This may vary from region to region. In the north, for example, the main foodstuff is cereal, the clothing is cotton cloth and the fuel is coal briquettes. In the south, however, rice takes the place of cereal. In areas where salt and edible oil are expensive, these items should be included in computing the basic wage.

Minimum Wage Explanation

Explaining why the minimum wage can guarantee little beyond the workers' livelihood at this stage, the article points out that China is still engaged in civil war and must devote her resources toward bringing that war to a successful conclusion. Even after that, however, it declares, the people's livelihood must be controlled by the overall social economy and all sections of the population must receive equal treatment.

"When the conditions of the social economy forbid higher wages," it concludes, "the wages of the workers should not be fixed at a higher rate lest they feel that they are privileged and mutual prejudice and hostility be aroused between them and other laborers, especially the peasants. The living standard of the workers, therefore, must be decided according to the conditions of the people's livelihood in general. . . The governing principle is that all the laboring class (including workers, peasants and other laborers) should endure hardship and make great efforts to develop production, to support the war until its victorious conclusion, and to improve their livelihood gradually and systematically until everybody is well clothed and well fed and comfort and enjoyment is accorded to all."

— *MARY BARRETT*

Labor Moves Ahead In China

The importance of China's liberation with regard to the trade union movement is highlighted by its selection as meeting place for Asiatic trade unions.

TWO important labor meetings are being held in China this month. On November 11, the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions met in Peking, and on November 16 the trade union conference of Asian and Australasian countries got underway.

The trade union conference, which brings together 117 labor leaders from 13 countries—China, USSR, Mongolia, Korea, India, Vietnam, Burma, Siam, Indonesia, Ceylon, the Philippines, Malaya and Iran—is hearing reports on the social, political and economic conditions and demands of workers in these countries. On the basis of these a plan of action will be worked out for future trade union activities. Also on the agenda is a proposal to set up a permanent liaison bureau of the WFTU in Asia to maintain contact with Asian and Far Eastern countries.

That China has been singled out as the meeting place for this gathering of trade unionists is evidence of its new position since liberation. Liu Shao-chi, honorary president of the All-China Federation of Labor, in welcoming the delegates recalled that while China was under Kuomintang rule "the representatives of the progressive trade unions in countries the world over had not come to China for more than two decades.

"Today," he noted, "as a result of the great people's revolution of China, the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions—the center of the unity of the world working class—will meet in China and will hold the trade union conference of Asian and Australasian countries here."

Speaker after speaker at the conference is emphasizing the importance of China's liberation on the trade union movement in the Far East, where the struggle of the working class is so closely tied in with demands to attain national independence.

Saillant Comments

Louis Saillant, general secretary of the WFTU, revealed that the WFTU had decided to call a trade union conference of the Asiatic countries as far back as October 1945, but that conditions for its convocation did not mature until this year. The fact that delegates can now meet with complete freedom in a China that fully respects the rights of trade unions, he said, is one of the most significant events since the formation of the WFTU.

While China's delegates to the trade union conference may be proud of acting as host to such a meeting, they can also point to the strides that have been made since liberation in promoting the welfare of the working class. Reports from a number of cities in China tell of the cultural clubs, literacy classes, medical clinics and other projects that are being formed for workers.

In Shanghai, four workers clubs in strategically located parts of the city are being established by the preparatory committee of the General Labor Union. These clubs, it is announced, will serve as centers for singing, drama, movies, athletics, evening schools and libraries for workers. Sixty evening schools for workers have been opened with an attendance of some 18,000 workers, and 10 more are scheduled to be established during the current year.

In Tientsin, a preparatory committee for the establishment of workers' schools has been organized. The schools will be attached to the various factories and will provide two years of primary school training and a four-year middle school course. Five such schools already have been set up in some of the city's textile factories. The General Labor Union and the Education Bureau also are planning the establishment of workers' classes in public schools for the convenience of workers who do not have schools in their own factories.

Palace Of Culture

Following the lead of Harbin and Shihchiachuang, Tientsin is also building a "palace of culture" for workers, modelled on similar clubs in the Soviet Union. A large auditorium is being remodelled for the city's 600,000 workers and, when completed, will contain amusement rooms, a conference hall, movie theater and library.

In Peking, workers' clinics have been set up in four districts with the assistance of trade unions and medical circles. Doctors and nurses are volunteering free medical treatment and donating medicine and equipment.

In Mukden, 65 clinics manned by more than 300 doctors and nurses have been set up for workers and their dependents in the city's state-owned factories. Eighteen schools have been founded for children of working class families and seven nurseries are looking after the children of working mothers. Some 18,000 houses for nearly 50,000 workers have been erected or repaired, and 120 workers' clubs and libraries have been established. The Mukden municipality now charges the city's working class families only half rates for electricity and water. Ninety-five cooperatives with a membership of 30,000 have been formed to supply daily necessities to workers at below market prices.

In Dairen, 400 cultural clubs and centers have sprung up during the past months, and most of the factories run technical schools and night classes for workers. The *New China News Agency* reports that visitors to the recent Dairen industrial exhibition were surprised to find very few people on the streets in the evenings. On inquiry, they discovered that practically the whole city was at school. Close to 200,000 illiterate persons, it is claimed, have learned to read and

write during the first half of this year through the mass education movement.

Side by side with this is the growth of union organization. In Shanghai alone, since liberation, 27,000 members of the printing, publishing, book store, lithographic, paper box making and type and plate making trades have formed a printers' union. Eight thousand department store workers have organized themselves into a Department Store Union. The city's utility workers, covering power, waterworks, telephone, gas, tramways, bus, public health works, and road repair offices and plants, are forming an overall utility workers' union. Preparatory committees have been set up for a Shanghai railway workers' union and a textile workers' union.

Ten national trade unions will be organized in China next year, according to a recent decision of the standing committee of the All-China Federation of Labor. Unions of railway, postal and telegraph and telephone workers are scheduled to come into being before next March, while those of seamen, metal workers, textile workers, coal miners, food industry workers, publishing house workers and educational workers will follow soon after. Trade union meetings are being held throughout China to prepare for the setting up of these national organizations.

Commenting on this decision, the Peking *People's Daily* declared: "To have the workers throughout China basically organized in about one year is a great historical task. Once the workers of the important branches of industry are organized, they will naturally become the leading kernel of the working masses, their organizers and propagandists."

To train organizers to help in this tremendous job of union organization, the All-China Federation of Labor opened a cadres school in Tientsin November 9. Attending the school are 700 trade union cadres from various industries and all different regions in China. "In order to do trade union work well," said ACFL vice chairman Li Li-san, "there must be an adequate number of politically conscious cadres who have basic theoretical knowledge and experience in trade union work."

As Liu Ning-yi, another vice president of the All-China Federation of Labor, reported to the Asiatic trade union conference, "The workers in the Kuomintang controlled areas, over whom the WFTU has been very much concerned, are no longer subjected to brutal oppression and exploitation. Accumulating strength for many years, they have emerged as a mighty force to coordinate with the Chinese People's Liberation Army in liberating Tientsin, Peking, Shanghai, Canton and many others big cities and will soon liberate Taiwan and Tibet."

"In China," he continued, "the people have already won emancipation. The Chinese working class and the laboring people have united into a mighty army to lead the people of the whole country in exterminating the enemy remnants and to strive for constructing a free, happy and industrialized China."

The Chinese workers, he promised, will "render every possible help" to the workers in other countries "who are suffering from oppression as we suffered before . . . because this is a responsibility profoundly realized by us through our personal experiences of struggle."

Tientsin Industrial Exhibition

PROLONGED siren blasts at ten o'clock the morning of November 4 proclaimed the opening of the 20-day Tientsin Industrial Exhibition at Ming Yuan Athletic Field. Light showers on the third had postponed the opening one day.

A huge neon-lighted archway led spectators past a mammoth flag-flanked portrait of Mao Tze-tung into 11 substantial pavilions. Traffic lanes with prominent guide signs were marked off by garlands of paper flowers and red and white bunting. A public address system kept patrons up on a minute-by-minute schedule of demonstrations. Spectators viewed or studied at leisure exhibits of local and outport factories in educational and attractive arrangements. Processes of weaving, making nails, hooking rugs, sending telephone and telegraphic messages, putting boats through locks and into drydocks, the principle of the steam locomotive and semaphore systems, mechanical irrigation methods—all were illustrated by models. In addition, local mineral deposits, indigenous food products and hides, textile fibers and their manufacture were graphically explained, as were soap-making, oil-pressing and salt-refining methods.

A remarkably superior quality and greatly increased variety was noticeable over products on the market before liberation. The salt is whiter and finer (a free sample was given each visitor); the soap harder and sudsier; the textiles more attractive and of fast color. Confidence in native products is felt to be definitely enhanced by the manner in which manufacturing methods and testing were exhibited. In the exhibition there were also more than 200 inventions created by the people including such things as improved boilers, generators and water pumps.

More than 1,700 factories participated in the exhibition, and there were more than 8,000 exhibits, consisting mainly of industrial products of Shanghai, Peking, Hangchow, Tsingtao, Kalgan, Shihchiachuang, Tangshan and Chefoo and the agricultural products of Hopei Province.

The exhibits covered the fields of public utilities, chemical industries, export items, foundry processes, textile-testing and dyeing, printing, industrial research, mining, ceramics and glassmaking, electrical equipment including radios, daily necessities and foodstuffs.

A network of some 70 telephones was installed on the grounds for public use. Fire engines stood in readiness though "no smoking" was the rule. A sprinkler kept down dust; the earth inside the pavilions was tamped hard and immaculately swept. Peanut eaters were told where they might toss shells; spectators were taught to keep the grounds free of refuse. Entrance fee to the exhibition was JMP 50.

The PLA provided ticket takers and guides for traffic both outside and inside the exhibition grounds. Temporary one-way traffic was enforced on the boundary thoroughfares. Special buses made frequent runs to the field. Concessionaires and pedicabmen did a thriving business at usual rates.

Charts and statistics at the exhibition showed the steady progress of industries since liberation. In some cases, production exceeded that of preliberation days. For instance, there were 63 crude rubber factories in Tientsin before liberation, most of which suspended at that time. At present, there are 71 such factories, all of which are operating. Production of rubber tires has gone up 123 percent and rubber shoe production 405 percent.

Other evidences of industrial improvement in Tientsin were shown in the new industrial techniques and the reduction of use of raw materials and fuels. The Tientsin Steel and Iron Works, for example, has cut its use of coal from 407 catties daily to 356 catties, its use of power from 86 to 69 kilowatts.

Li Tsu-chen, an industrialist who spoke at the exhibition, declared that this was the first of its kind to be held in 30 years and was proof that "what the people's government has done in the past 10 months was more and better than what the KMT reactionary government did in the past 10 years."

In order to show peasants the use of industrial equipment and methods, a group of 1,000 from five provinces in North China were invited to attend the exhibition as guests of the Tientsin People's Government. One of them is reported by the *Kwang Ming News Release* to have said, "Twenty years ago I came to Tientsin once. I was then looked down upon and bludgeoned by policemen. At that time I was not interested at all in city life, but now I begin to like it because I am one of the masters of the state."

Vietnam Fights Twin Scourges

Within four years the new republic has made millions literate. Tax reductions and agricultural improvements have given peasants a real stake in the national struggle.

POVERTY, illiteracy, economic and political imperialism, feudalism and lack of industrialization—all so closely interwoven and directly connected with the land problem—are being eliminated with varying degrees of success throughout Asia. In Vietnam where these problems are being tackled simultaneously with the fight for independence, the record of achievements in the fields of literacy and condition of the peasants is worthy of special consideration.

The Vietnam story of how 16,000,000 people learned to read and write within four years marks a milestone in the history of social progress and puts another nail in the coffin of French imperialism. Although the legal framework for the fight against illiteracy was embodied in three decrees instituted by the Ministry of Education shortly after the proclamation of the Republic of Vietnam on September 2, 1945, the plan would never have succeeded had it not been supported by the people.

After more than 80 years of French rule, while Vietnam could point to roads built to promote the interests of French rubber and rice planters, its average illiteracy rate was approximately 85 percent of the total population of 22,000,000. The new republic gave the literacy campaign a high priority in its national social program because it believed that a literate people who had a general knowledge of the country's physical features, natural resources, history and political affairs would be more firmly united than ever in its determination to oust the French colonialists.

Language Latinized

To begin with Vietnam had an important advantage over many other countries of Asia where illiteracy is high, in the possession of one of the most perfect latinizations of a national language. Codified nearly three centuries ago by a group of Catholic missionaries, philologists consider the latinization as one of the best developed in the East as well as one of the most perfect scripts to translate Vietnamese sounds textually and accurately. The first Latin-Annamite Lexicon was compiled in 1652 by Father Alexandre de Rhodes; this phonetic system making use of Latin characters became known as the Alexandre de Rhodes system and later with certain modifications as "Quoc Ngu" or National Language.

Some efforts were made by a group of Vietnamese nationalists in 1938 while the country was still wholly under French rule to diffuse Quoc Ngu but after seven years this private association was able to reach less than one percent of the population. It remained for the Republic to give the program government sponsorship and funds for the campaign to become nationwide and meaningful.

The major government decree setting forth the study of Quoc Ngu as compulsory for all stated: "Within one year all Vietnamese over eight years of age should know how to read and write Quoc Ngu. After this period a Vietnamese over eight years of age who does not know how to read and write will be fined." While this zealous goal was not reached, the actual record was impressive, repaying many times the heavy cost and sacrifices required for this nationwide program.

Disgrace to Be Illiterate

Old and young, soldier, peasant and laborer began to learn to read and write even in the midst of civil war. Classes were held in paddy fields, in market places, on hill tops, in factories and near front lines. In Vietnam there were dramatic results as millions began participating more actively in village, factory and army affairs. It was a disgrace to be illiterate.

President Ho Chi Minh who had been one of the leading protagonists for a mass literacy campaign emphasized the importance of literacy in the political fight when he said:

"People of Vietnam:

"To defend independence, to safeguard freedom and to create strength and abundance, the people of Vietnam must understand their own interests and their duties. They must acquire new knowledge for participating in the reconstruction of our great land. Everyone must know how to read and write the national language. It is the duty of literates to reach the illiterates.

"The illiterates must make every effort to learn. Husband shall teach his wife, elder brother, his younger one; sons shall help their parents; employers their employees. Rich men shall try their best to open schools for the many other unfortunate families; and factory-owners shall do likewise for their workers.

"All women must become literate. It is long since they have been treated as slaves. Now they shall make all possible exertions to enjoy the status of equality and be worthy citizens of a free and independent country. They have now the right to elect and to be elected.

"It is my earnest hope to see the youth of both sexes do their utmost to cooperate in this work of extreme importance."

Ho Chi Minh

Responding to the call for teachers, 80,000 people volunteered and within the first 10 months of the program 60,000 classes had been organized throughout the country. Posters and slogans urging people to take advantage of the free classes were hung on trees, on the walls of houses and in market places. Young children visited older people to persuade them to take advantage of the literacy classes. While regular classes were held for the illiterate, special classes were organized for those who could already read and write with a view to making teachers out of this group. A census of literates and illiterates was made everywhere and placed on the front wall of every house. Slogans such as "Illiteracy is no less a crime than theft," and "Illiteracy is as dangerous an enemy as the foreign invader" were widely displayed.

Education Made Practical

Teacher training courses were organized, for while the number of volunteers was subsfantial, very few were experienced teachers. The training course for teachers ranged from two to six weeks during which time, in addition to technical training, the candidates were taught to adapt themselves to conditions of guerilla life. The regular curriculum consisted of elementary reading, writing and arithmetic, organization, politics and music. Teachers taught by using familiar daily symbols; for example, pupils and teachers might sing together:

"O is round like an egg."

After the completion of the elementary course, students who had shown both ability and interest were encouraged to take more advanced courses in hygiene, politics, technical education and administration. Vocational and technical schools have been established in north and central Vietnam and here as well as elsewhere the emphasis is on improvisation from local materials and practical working experience. In the Public Works College, for example, students learn by working on actual dike and irrigation projects. And the same methods apply in other fields, in pharmacy, agriculture and medicine. Theory is still essential but it must always be accompanied by practical working experience.

It would not have been possible to reach 16,000,000 people in four years

time without very careful planning. The organization of the nationwide literacy campaign reached directly into the village and factory where a local Popular Education Aid Committee made plans for the area, recruited teachers wherever possible locally, received contributions and coordinated the locality's work with that of other nearby districts. In every province there was a special government branch called the Popular Education Office which assumed responsibility for the direction and integration of the overall literacy training program. Coordination on a national level was the responsibility of the Ministry of Education.

Peasants' Life Hard

But the new Republic was not promoting literacy in a vacuum simply for literacy's sake. It was conscious that basic to all Vietnam's problems and second only to securing complete national liberation was the problem of the peasantry. For generations this section of the population had lived on a marginal level of existence characterized by oppressive landlords, high rates of usury and uneconomic production. In other words, by the usual pattern of decaying feudalism and in Vietnam with the additional complication of French colonialism propping up an outmoded land system.

While recognizing that thorough land reform must wait until the Republic was fully liberated, certain ameliorative steps were taken to make the lot of the peasants who constitute 90 percent of the population more bearable. These included the encouragement of subsidiary crops, reduction of land rents, distribution of fallow lands, reduction of taxes and usury rates, a dike repair program to prevent floods, establishment of credit and productive cooperatives and other measures.

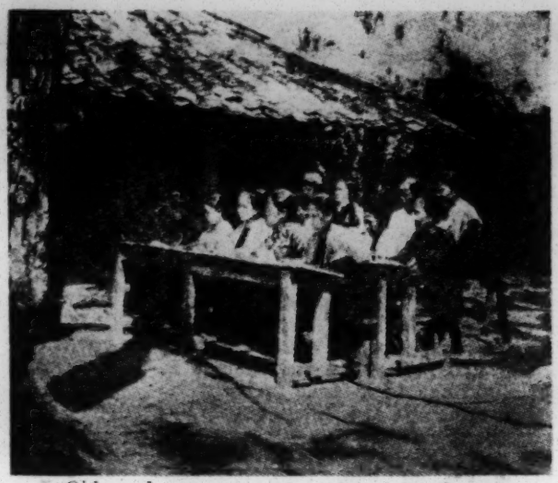
The autumn of 1945 found the country facing the possibility of a very serious famine. Food stocks were extremely low because of wartime destruction and looting by the Japanese and French puppets. The whole country had to be mobilized in a tremendous effort to produce more food. This could only be done by tilling every patch of land and by growing subsidiary crops which would not interfere with the rice harvest.

The prevention of floods which for generations had been the cause of many national disasters received immediate attention. From 1945 to 1948 under a program of intensive dike repair the new Republic estimated that 2,338 kilometers of dikes were repaired, none of which have been breached to date.

Village Committees Elected

By government decree all fallow land was allotted to small farmers and peasants for cultivation and many took advantage of the opportunity to increase the size of their plots. Also by government decree, the confiscation and re-distribution of the land of puppets and French nationals which fell in Vietnam territory was undertaken as well as the compulsory loan of all beasts of burden and farm implements to all who needed them in the district. An intricate network of village committees made up of elected peasant representatives in each village supervised the distribution of new lands and the loan of animals and implements. Every peasant was encouraged to go to his local village committee to make his request and after investigation aid was extended or refused depending on the needs and resources available. Meetings of the local committees were frequent and open to all.

These committees also supervised the implementation of the government's decrees reducing land rents and taxes. The poll tax, which in the past accounted for 60 percent of the direct taxes under French rule, was swept away as was the salt monopoly. Land rents were reduced by 50 percent.



Old and young study "Quoc Ngu" in an improvised open-air school room in Vietnam.

In March 1947 the Republic attempted to reduce the density of population in overpopulated areas by allotting to any citizen over 18 who applied to the local village committee seven and a half acres of state-owned fallow lands on condition that the applicant cultivate the land. At the end of two years the land thus allotted was to become the property of the tenant. All these steps were part of the government's program to increase production.

Agricultural Cadre Formed

In 1947 also the Republic established two schools of agriculture in northern and central Vietnam where representatives of village agricultural committees sent elected representatives to study simple improvements in agricultural techniques. The courses were brief, usually only several weeks, after which time the representatives returned to their own villages to teach what they had learned in the way of crop improvement, stock breeding and anti-epidemic methods. From 1947 to September 1949, forty-two such courses were arranged and the participants upon completion of the course were regarded as constituting the beginnings of an "agricultural cadre." While steps taken in the direction of scientific agricultural improvements are still on an experimental basis, suggested improvements are kept extremely simple and are promoted only after the representatives are convinced that the new method actually does increase production, thereby giving the peasant a better return.

Agricultural and handicraft cooperatives have also been organized with government assistance. Financial aid in the form of loans at cheap interest rates have been made available through a Producers' Credit Office which up to June 1949 recorded the granting of 38,289 loans totalling piastres 43,150,613 to agriculturists in four war areas of north and central Vietnam. Handicraft workers received 1,173 loans totaliing piastres 31,981,680 in the same period. The government instructed the Producers' Credit Office to give priority to loans to cooperatives and laborers organized on a collective basis.

Production Drive

The major emphasis among the peasants today is still on production, for Vietnam is of necessity striving for economic self-sufficiency and it is the peasants who provide the food and clothing for the army.

In President Ho Chi Minh's message to the North Vietnam Agricultural Congress held in August 1949 four main principles were outlined for the production drive: 1) the program for increasing production must be integrated with the actual conditions and capacity of the people of each specific area; 2) statistics must be kept carefully so that progress is recorded; 3) the "agricultural cadres" must keep in close and friendly touch with the people whom they must help in every possible way; 4) the method of labor emulation should apply to production by peasants just as with every other form of production.

Within the space of the four years of its establishment the Republic can point to a number of favorable developments in agricultural production; the area of paddy fields has been increased by 15 percent and the results of the policy of encouraging subsidiary crops has been rewarding. For example, land planted in potatoes has tripled, quintupling the potato yield, and maize production has been increased four times.

The peasants, 70 percent of whom are literate today, support the new Republic for the benefits its program has brought to them. Without the support and participation of the peasantry the national liberation movement would not be possible for it is the peasants who constitute 80 percent of the Vietnam National Army and it is they who mount guard in the countryside, sabotaging enemy communication lines and defending their villages from French attack.

CATHERINE PEAKE

The People's Railways

Railway reconstruction keeps pace with advancing PLA. Improved efficiency, revolutionary methods lay basis for large scale expansion of facilities.

RAILWAY workers have a slogan: "As fast as the PLA advances, railways are repaired." This is literally true, for behind the rapid advances of the PLA during the past three years, the people's railways, which had suffered great damage in the fighting, have been quickly rehabilitated. Of the estimated 23,000 kilometers of railway in liberated China, traffic has resumed on about 19,000 km. of line. This has contributed to the success of the PLA and has greatly assisted in developing the economy of the daily expanding area under the People's Government.

China's railway history has been a long, troubled and slow one. In 1866, British merchants in Shanghai planned to build a line to Woosung, and persisted in their efforts for 10 years, despite the opposition of Peking. The land acquired, rails were laid, and the first train ran in 1876. The Taotai of Shanghai, throughly alarmed, made representations to Peking and involved negotiations followed between the British and the Chinese governments. All might have turned out well, but in the same year, 1876, a Chinese was killed by the train. The resulting storm of indignation forced the British to sell the line to the government, which, having paid the last installment late in 1877, promptly tore up the rails and shipped them to Taiwan. Thus ingloriously ended China's first railway.

First Permanent Railway

The first permanent railway built, which still forms a tiny part of today's railway system, was completed in 1880, for the transportation of coal in north China. How slow construction has been since then is brought out by the average yearly rate of building: In 69 years, about 27,000 km. of line, or less than 400 km. (250 miles) a year! Of all the countries in the Pacific area, China has the most inadequate railway system. The USA for example, with 75 percent of China's area and 22 percent of her population, has 20 times as much railway line. Furthermore, China's railways, owing to the circumstances under which they were largely built, are poorly laid out, being concentrated in the north and east, with no major east-west trunk line except the Lunghai.

The chief reason for this state of affairs was that China's railways were built as imperialistic ventures to provide excess capital outlets for the European nations and the USA. After the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, they competed for the privilege of supplying China's financial needs, especially the funds for railway building. In many cases, loans were not requested or needed, but were forced upon China. Diplomats would negotiate with the Chinese Government for railway concessions and then pass them on to private companies in their own countries for execution. The granting of concessions was usually followed by a loan agreement between the Chinese Government and foreign financial interests. By the 'thirties,' such loans totalled well over a billion US dollars, representing an estimated 80 percent of the railway capital of China.

The terms of these loan contracts were disadvantageous to China. The nominal amount of the loan was usually subject to a discount, which was the creditor's "fee." The creditors not only appointed chief engineers and accountants, but also participated in the administration of the lines which were mortgaged as security. Furthermore, guarantees for loan and interest were often secured by general government revenues. Railway revenues had to be deposited in the creditor's bank, and materials and equipment had to be purchased from the creditor's country, usually through the loan agents. In addition to interest payments to bondholders (averaging 5 percent), high discounts, bonuses and commissions had to be paid the agents, and creditors had a virtual monopoly in building branch or extension lines.

Wartime Destruction

Disruption of service and enormous damage to lines, bridges and rolling-stock were the results of the anti-Japanese war and the liberation war. Bridges were blown up, their twisted girders littering gullies and streams all over north and east China. Rails were ripped up; the ties were often burned, rails being laid across the bonfires to render them unfit for use. Locomotives and cars were bombed or blown up.

The guerrilla forces behind the Japanese lines continually harassed the enemy by tearing up the railways. Working under cover of darkness, they would take up the rails and carry them off, the peasants hiding the rails in their huts or burying them in the ground. In this manner, the railway between Shihchiachuang and Techow was raided so often that the Japanese had to replace the rails completely three times, it was estimated. With the liberation of central Hopeh, a call was sent out to the people by the Chin-Ch'a-Chi Border Region Government to cooperate in rebuilding the line. Thousands of farmers dug up the rails they had hidden, hitched the mule to the cart, and, one rail to a cart, brought them to the line. They also sold ties to the government, while blacksmith and metal-working shops turned out spikes and fish plates. When the KMT were forced to evacuate Shihchiachuang, most of the railway workers remained behind, and joined in the reconstruction with a will.

Fortunately, bridges along this stretch of line remained intact, so reconstruction was made easier. In other areas of north China, steel spans were replaced by temporary timber structures, or, in some cases, by masonry bridges. Such early rebuilding was done in a hurry; if old ballast remained, well and good; but if there wasn't any, ties were laid on the bare top of the old embankment. Farmers who had preëmpted sections of embankment for cultivation were persuaded to move away, and the trains ran. Trains at that time were operated usually at night, since, with KMT air bases quite close, day time operation was subject to heavy bombing and strafing.

Rehabilitation Work

Now that most of China has been liberated, work on railway rehabilitation is proceeding with even greater speed, efficiency has been raised, and plans for extension of the existing network have been made. In liberated areas, the total of 19,000 km. of lines in operation represents over 80 percent of the total of about 23,000 km. in liberated China, and about 70 percent of China's total 27,000 km. of railway lines. The most recent acquisition is the Canton-Kowloon line, which, with the recent liberation of Canton, is expected soon to resume operation.

Railway communications from Manchuli in Manchuria to the Nanking-Shanghai line in East China have been in operation without interruption since the restoration of the Hwei River Bridge, and through traffic from Peking to Shanghai, suspended for the past 12 years, has also been resumed.

Increase in work efficiency and reduction in operational costs are significant new features to be observed in the reconstruction of the people's railways. The results can be seen clearly in the traffic schedules. Statistics show that during January this year the weekly operational frequency of trains in the Northeast was 5.4. In July, the figure was reduced to 3.44, showing a one-third cut. Along the Peking-Tientsin line, the weekly operational frequency of trains has been reduced from 4 in March to 2.15 in August, showing approximately a 50 percent reduction. A lower operational frequency indicates better service and higher efficiency.

Railway business in the Northeast has exceeded by 1,348 percent the total registered traffic in 1946. During the past three years, the people's railways have not only increased their freight and passenger service, but have also played a most important role in the transportation of supplies, military equipment and personnel. In May this year, the transport of one field army, railway corps and supplies by 378 trains was completed 10 days ahead of schedule.

thus contributing considerably toward the liberation campaign.

With management in the hands of the people, trains are also averaging longer mileages. For example in the Northeast, each train had an average run of 33,000 kilometers every half year under the Japanese occupation period, but at present, the average mileage covered by each train has exceeded 50,000 kilometers, showing an increase of 40 percent. Some trains, such as "Iron Ox" and "884", made record mileages of 100,000 kilometers and 110,000 kilometers.

There is also great improvement in the pulling capacity of locomotives. In the Tsitsihar-Peichentse section, the pulling capacity of each locomotive during the "Manchukuo" days was limited to 1,780 tons, but since the takeover by the people it has been increased to 2,372 tons, marking an increase of 30 percent. New inventions in the field of railway equipment produced by the railway workers of the Northeast during the past three years totalled 281, with a total production of 95,793 items. There were also 169 kinds of equipment remade and improved by railway workers. This kind of work covered 27,551 items. The equipment and tools saved consisted of 724 kinds, totalling 4,811 items. Raw materials and other supplies retrieved from scrap heaps totalled 2,456,983 items, consisting of 1,024 different kinds. All these contributed to the increase in work efficiency of locomotives, reduction in railway operational costs and satisfactory results in railway traffic.

New Techniques And Rates

For railway administration, the pioneer Soviet experience has been adopted in making workers of the traffic department responsible for their work. Such a method is now being extended to the transport, engineering and electric service departments. Due to the fact that such a method provides a chance for competition among workers of various departments, the general results have been highly satisfactory.

In business operations, the people's railways, being one of the means to serve the people, have not been solely devoted to profit, and passenger and freight rates have been fixed in accordance with the interests of the people's welfare.

Freight charges particularly have been put on a revolutionary basis. Cargoes to be transported by railways have been divided into 20 grades, with the freight charge for the first grade 200 times higher than that for the 20th grade. Low freight rates are accorded to coal, mineral ores, industrial and daily necessities, and special rates have been fixed for the transport of kaoliang and grains from the Northeast to the south, the charges being 50 percent less than usual rates. Recently further cuts have been made in the freight charges for certain cargoes in pursuance of the policy of encouraging exports and overcoming the coastal blockade. A 50 percent cut was made in the freight rates for transporting hog bristles and cotton to Tientsin and Shanghai. The charges are highest for luxury goods. Special reduced rates are also provided for long-distance transport, in accordance with the economic policy of the New Democracy.

Service Schedules

Being responsible to the people, the railway administrations in the Northeast have ruled that cargoes entrusted to railways for transport must be delivered on schedule. A refund of two-thirtieths of the transport fee will be paid by the railway administration if it delivers luggage one day late, and a refund of one-thirtieth if it delivers parcels one day late. If it is merchandise, a refund of from two to four percent of the freight charge will be paid by the railway administration. Express train fares will also be refunded to the passengers if an express train arrives three hours later than the scheduled time.

It is evident that every effort has been made to improve the service of the people's railways and to bring about their speedy development.

At the All-China Railway Engineering Conference convened in Peking on October 17 by the Ministry of Railways of the Central People's Government, Minister Teng Tai-yuen outlined in his report the following five major tasks to be completed before the end of the current year:

1) Completion of repair on the Canton-Hankow Railway before December so that direct communications may be resumed between Peking and Canton to frustrate the blockade;

2) Inauguration of through traffic in the whole line of the Chekiang-Kiangsi Railway before December 15;

3) Completion of the Haichow-Paochi section of the Lunghai Railway before November 7;

4) Resumption of through traffic on the Peking-Hankow Railway before the end of the current year;

5) Opening of the Taiyuan-Fenglingtu section of the Tungpu Railway to traffic before the end of the current year.

In addition to speedily repairing the railway lines in the newly liberated areas, a five-year plan has been mapped out for the reconstruction of the people's railways, and the following sections of the plan will be fulfilled during the coming year:

1) A railway from Tatung to Tangku will be completed;

2) A double track line from Mukden to Tientsin will be constructed;

3) Traffic on some of the old lines, such as the Chinchow, Chengteh, Kupeikow and Peking lines and the Peitsin line will be resumed;

4) A railway from Paotow to Lanchow via Ninghsia and another from Tiensui to Lanchow will be completed;

5) The Huangho Bridge at Chengchow will be remodelled and a new bridge spanning the Yangtze River will be constructed to connect Wuchang with Hankow;

6) Lines good only for slow traffic will be eliminated and permanent bridges will be built to take the place of makeshift ones.

Minister Teng stated that the target for 1950 is the opening of 22,000 km. of railway to traffic, with a daily run of 10,000 passenger and freight cars for a total of 440,000 km. In preparation for the coming year's increased operations, he said, 37,000 laborers are working in 26 railway shops throughout China to produce 250,000 spare parts and to repair 15,000 cars and 1,500 locomotives. Credit was also given to the Soviet technical experts, who have already assisted Chinese engineers and workers to repair more than 5,000 km. of line.

5-Year Plan

During the coming five years 10,000 kilometers of new railways will be constructed to meet the economic requirements of the new China being constructed. Also under the five-year plan, the speed on the double track Peking-Liaoning Railway will be raised to 80 km. per hour, and that of the Tientsin-Pukow and Peking-Hankow Railways to 60 km. per hour.

At the time of writing, of China's approximate total of 27,000 km. of railway lines, including Taiwan, the People's Government controls an estimated 23,000 km., or about 85 percent. The railway in Yunnan running south to Indo-China, the short bit on Hainan, and part of the Hengyang-Kweilin-Liuchow line, totalling about 4,000 km., are all that remain to the KMT. As KMT-dominated areas are daily shrinking, presumably the last railway system that will remain to them is that on Taiwan, where private and industrial lines are longer than the 1,400 km. of government lines.

Meanwhile, rehabilitation of the people's railways goes on apace, and at long last China is free to develop her railway system according to an overall, rational plan, suited to her needs.

T. P. King

Repairing the rauroads—Tsen Ching-chu

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Li Tsung-jen Goes to Hongkong; WFTU Meeting in Peking

DISPATCHES from Chungking received in Hongkong on Monday, November 21, state that the Nationalist Government has moved to Chengtu, 140 miles northwest of Chungking. When the message was dispatched there were only three KMT ministers in Chungking, Prime Minister Yen Hsi-shan and two others.

The People's Liberation Army was reported to be within 46 miles of Chungking, the fall of which is expected shortly.

In the meantime all available river craft have been mobilized by the Chungking regime for the moving of the capital to Chengtu.

In the past week, PLA forces have entered Szechuen, Kweichow and Kwangsi provinces in strength. They have taken Kweiyang, the provincial capital of Kweichow, and the fall of Kweilin, the provincial capital of Kwangsi, is expected at any moment.

General Lin Piao's armies bypassed Pengshui and reached the outskirts of Fowling, 60 miles southeast of Chungking on November 18. Radio communication between Chungking and Pengshui is said to have been cut.

In the face of rapid PLA advances in Kwangsi, General Pai Chung-hsi is reported as moving his troops from Kwangsi to Tonking Bay area. Five of his divisions are reported to have arrived in Hoppo.

Li Has Stomachache

Nationalist Acting-President, Li Tsung-jen, arrived in Hongkong from Nanning, in his native Kwangsi province, on November 20, for "medical treatment."

Although plagued with stomach trouble, Li said that he intended to spend the shortest possible time to regain his health. He is reported, in a lengthy statement regarding his health, as saying that "With sound body and my total attention, I shall be able to cooperate with the armed forces and the people in the common endeavor to suppress the Communist rebellion." Now, with the nation facing a crisis, he said, he dare not shirk his duty on grounds of illness.

Hongkong reports said that Li will be examined by doctors as to whether an operation will be necessary. The doctors are expected to reach a decision whether or not to advise Li to proceed to the United States for treatment, according to sources close to the invalid.

The reasons for this "medical upset" are said to be the unfavorable climate in Chungking at the present time, and the split between the Kwangsi clique of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek. The *China Mail* said that the crux of the dispute was whether General Pai Chung-hsi, who heads the Kwangsi clique with Li Tsung-jen, would agree to serve under Chiang.

US Consulate Closed

On November 18, the United States Consulate in Chungking closed "in view of the military threat to that area," the State Department announced.

The Consulate in Kunming is expected to close before the end of next month.

Staffs of the offices will probably go to Hongkong and the Consulate affairs will be taken over by the British.

The State Department had already given the Consulate staffs in Chungking and Kunming authority to close at any time when the liberation of these cities appeared imminent, it was said. All American citizens in the Chungking area were warned several months ago that the Consulate might be closed when it became necessary.

* * *

Wanton Bombing

SCORES of civilians in Amoy and Swatow, including many students and teachers, were killed or injured when KMT planes strafed and bombed the two cities on November 11 and 13, according to *New China News Agency* reports from Peking.

Four B-24 bombers dropped over fifty bombs on the northern coast of Amoy on November 11 directly hitting Chipbee School when students were attending classes. Huang Chung-hsiang, the principal of the school, and many students were killed outright and dozens were injured when the school buildings were destroyed.

Two days later, two KMT planes bombed and strafed Swatow killing and injuring 22 civilians, including a British seaman.

* * *

Chahar Plague Checked

TRAINS are again running regularly between Peking and Kalgan. The restricted area which was set up between the two cities nineteen days ago, because of the spread of plague in North Chahar, is now open again. Tung Pi-wu, head of the Central Anti-Plague Committee, announced the day before yesterday that the spreading of the plague had been checked but plague prevention measures along communication lines should still be carried out.

Tung Pi-wu said that the checking of the plague was due to the correct guidance of the Central People's Government, the hard work of the anti-plague personnel, and the help of the Soviet Union.

During the anti-plague period lasting twenty days, the Central Anti-Plague Committee sent out nearly 1,300 personnel to combat the disease. More than four million people were inoculated. Over 80 percent of the population of Kalgan alone have been inoculated. That city has returned to normalcy and schools, shops and theatres have begun functioning again as usual.

* * *

WFTU Peking Conference

LOUIS Saillant, general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, made a report on the role and activities of the WFTU in the trade union movement of the Asian and Australasian countries and on the tasks of the conference at the second day's session of the WFTU conference of Asian and Australasian countries in Peking on November 17.

He expressed his pleasure at being able to salute on behalf of the Executive Bureau of the WFTU the delegates present and through them all the workers, men and women, whom they represented and the gratitude of the WFTU to the All-China Federation of Labor, which made possible the convening of the conference and its opening in conditions most favorable to its work.

Telegrams of greetings from the International Union of Students and from fraternal trade unions in Australia, Bulgaria and many other parts of China were read to the conference.

The Trade Union Council of Mukden stated in its telegram that 200,000 workers in Mukden are launching a drive to create new production records to commemorate the convening of the conference.

In his address and report, Louis Saillant described the convening of the conference in the capital of the new China, where delegates can meet with complete freedom and where the rights of trade unions are fully respected, as one of the most significant acts of the WFTU since its formation. This conference, he said, was also a rebuff to reactionary leaders in the trade union movement.

Saillant accused the reactionary leaders of American and British trade unions of having wished to abolish the WFTU and of having sought to avoid the convening of the conference of Asian and Australasian members of the WFTU. He gave this as a major reason why American and British leaders withdrew from the WFTU.

In spite of them, the conference is now opening in Peking, in the hall where the new Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has been held. It will certainly have a political orientation, said Saillant, since, faithful to the interests of the working class, it will support the right of self-determination of all peoples, and consequently of all movements for national liberation.

In this regard, the holding of the conference in this country, in this capital, in this hall, is particularly symbolic. The example set by the Chinese people at the end of the first half of this century will have tremen-

dous consequences in the next half century.

This conference, declared Saillant, will be inspired by the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Its work will reinforce the trade union organizations in all Asian and Australasian countries.

He outlined the tasks of the conference as follows:

(1) To report on the social, political and economic conditions and demands of workers in the Asian and Australasian countries, and to map out a concrete plan of action after a study of these conditions and demands.

(2) To set up in China a permanent liason bureau to the WFTU to maintain contact with the Asian and Far Eastern countries.

At a banquet in Peking, given in honor of the members of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions and representatives to the trade union conference of Asian and Australasian countries, Chou En-lai, Premier of the Central People's Government, said that the arrival of the trade union delegates and the workers' representatives of the various countries was a great encouragement to the Chinese people. He added: "This indicates not only the unity of the majority of the working class but also the unity of the majority of the democratic forces of the world."

* * *

Left KMT Groups Merge

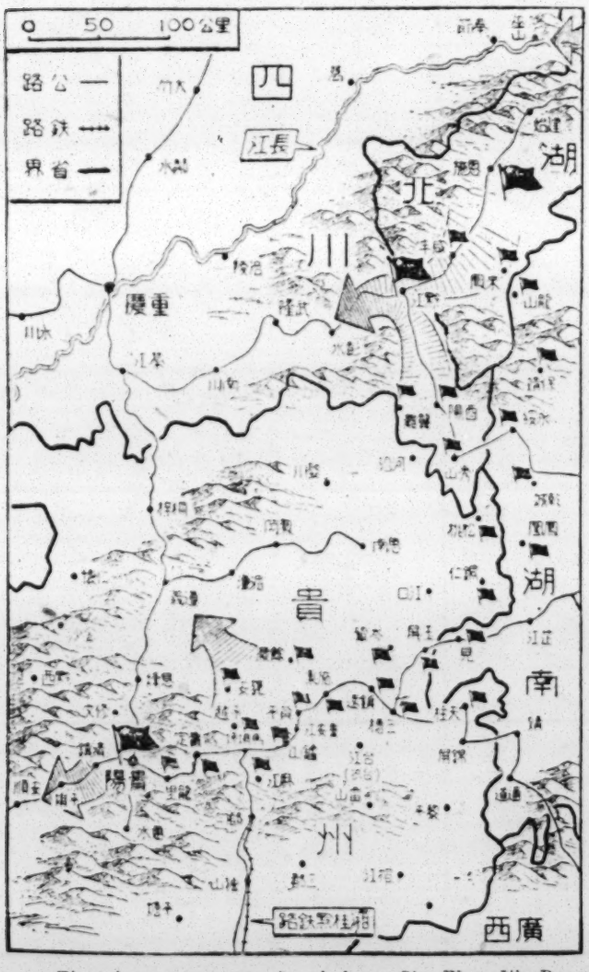
THE *New China News Agency* announced from Peking, on November 21, that the unification of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the Three People's Principles Comrades Association, the Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy, and the democratic elements of the Kuomintang, was accomplished after a five-day conference in Peking.

A declaration issued by the conference stated that the unified organization would be provisionally called the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang and would function as a member of the united front to strive for the realisation of the common program of the People's Political Consultative Conference under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The conference elected a central committee of 45 members and 20 alternates and formed an all-party committee with 72 members including Li Chi-shen, Cheng Chien, Chang Chih-chung and Shao Li-tze.

It also passed the organic law of conference and a resolution concerning the current political tasks of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. Among its urgent tasks were the winning over of the awakened Kuomintang elements and helping the People's Government to wipe out the remnant Kuomintang reactionary forces.

The declaration of the conference called on democratic elements of the Kuomintang to unite firmly and follow the instructions of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen to work side by side with the Communist Party of China in the great construction tasks of the new democratic China.



The above map reproduced from Sin Wen Jih Pao, shows the rapid progress made by the People's Liberation Army in Szechuan and Kweichow provinces. The arrow on the top shows the line of offensive of the PLA toward Chungking, capital of Szechuan, the arrow in the middle of the map shows that the direction of the PLA in the drive to Chengtu while the arrow in the bottom of the map indicates the direction of the movement of the PLA after the capture of Kweiyang. Since the map was drawn, the PLA has made rapid progress and reached a point 60 miles east of Chungking and occupied Kweilin, capital of Kwangsi.

Poland May Sponsor China

FROM New York, November 22, comes the report that "sources close to the United Nations" revealed that Poland has decided to sponsor the appeal of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against further representation of China by Kuomintang delegates in the United Nations.

The appeal was recently made in a telegram to Mr. Trygve Lie, United Nations Secretary-General, from Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the People's Government.

The case is now expected to go before the Steering Committee of the United Nations.

* * *

Unrest In Italy

SERIOUS clashes between Italian police and peasants were reported on November 20 from southern Italy, a few hours after Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi had arrived there on a two-day visit.

The clashes are said to have broken out in a 650-kilometer stretch of country in southern Italy and Sicily, where reports told of peasants occupying thousands of hectares of land on big estates and beginning to till the land on their own account.

Premier Gasperi, who arrived today at Calabria, in the heart of the troubled region, accompanied by the Minister of Agriculture, Antonio Segni, is said to have told peasants that he was giving orders to hasten the land appropriated from landowners, according to Rome reports. Premier Gasperi was accompanied on his visit to the south by three American economic aid experts.

In Rome, Home Minister Mario Scelba, on November 20, ordered police in southern Italy and Sicily to use force against peasants occupying land on big estates.

In a church near Pescara, on Italy's east coast, more than 100 unemployed, of whom the great majority are women, are reported to be on a hunger-strike. They declared that they would not leave the church for fear of the police.

These strikers are among the 1,760,000 unemployed now recorded in Italy by the latest incomplete but official figures.

* * *

A Freeze In London

In London, on November 20, Mr. Arthur Deakin, Labor General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, forecast that the British Trade Union Congress will ask its 8,000,000 members to accept "rigorous restraint" in wage demands "for a period which will enable this country to make an economic recovery." The demand for "restraint" would not be for a limited period, he said.

The special Economic Committee of the T.U.C. is in conference with leading members of the Labor Government working out a policy to present to British workers. Mr. Deakin forecast that the report of the Economic Committee would call for rigorous restraint on wages, salaries and dividends. He said that he preferred the term "rigorous restraint" rather than "freezing" when referring to wages. He added that, despite the prophets

Chinese Papers Say:

Five day student meeting outlines future of student movement, continued US aid to Chiang flayed, Chou En-lai's message to UN strongly endorsed.

AFTER five days of meeting the first Students Representatives Conference of Shanghai with 400 odd representatives of the 120,000 students of Shanghai was successfully concluded after deciding upon the present mission of the student movement in Shanghai, formulating the Constitution of the Shanghai Students Federation and successfully electing the guiding organization of the prevailing Students Federation, comments the *Ta Kung Pao* on November 15, 1949. The chief slogans put forward at this conference were "To learn, to learn, and again to learn," "Unity between teacher and student," "To improve the school," and "To improve oneself." The *Ta Kung Pao* article states that many ideological difficulties and contradictions which have lurked in the students' minds have been solved in the discussions.

"The first contradiction is that between 'to learn' and 'to work.'"

"Many students agree that their task to learn is all important but they wonder if this means that they should give up all social activities."

In reply to this question the article explains: "Notwithstanding the fact that the movement 'to learn' shall hereafterwards be considered the primary task of the student movement, all necessary political and social activities shall still be carried out in complement with the first so as to bring theory and practice into line. Therefore, to take part in various activities is, in fact, an integral part of the movement 'to learn,' or rather, a living part of it."

"The second contradiction exists between the desire of learning and the prevailing environment." Here the article refers chiefly to teachers who fail to employ new pedagogical methods with the result that students lose interest in the subjects. To correct this shortcoming, the article continues, "the chief way is to maintain a close unity between the teachers and the students so as to improve the school, to improve ourselves, and to gain all around improvement."

"One possible mistake arising out of the slogan 'to learn' is for one to become engrossed in one's particular line and to falsely believe that one's duty to the people is fulfilled as soon as one becomes proficient in one's own chosen field. It is our belief," explains the article, "that, if one does not possess a clear understanding of the fundamental political principles, all of one's technical training will be aimless. It is only by raising the level of political consciousness, by mastering ideological indoctrination, and by establishing the point of view of serving the people, that technical proficiency can be truly attained and that this proficiency can be profitably employed in the interest of the people."

US Imperialism Criticized

Commenting on "The Hostile Attitude of American Imperialism" the *Wen Hui Pao* of November 12, 1949 points out that despite the large scale aid given to Chiang by the US in the last three years, he is finished. "But," says the article, "American imperialism will still not rest content, and continues to forward bombers and tanks to Taiwan to support the remnant bandits in their last dying struggle.

"This shows that American imperialism remains to the end opposed to the Chinese people. It obviously wants to remain the enemy of the People's Republic of China to the end.

"But the people of China are not afraid . . . The Chiang bandits are definitely finished. So is imperialism definitely finished in China.

"We have not only the confidence to expel American imperialism totally out of China, but are certain that we shall see the time when the American reactionaries will crumble before their own people. For this fostering of the Chiang bandits is not the desire of the American people, but only the act of the American ruling class against the interests of their people. . . ."

Message to UN

The *Ta Kung Pao* of November 16 describes Foreign Minister Chou En-lai's message to the United Nations regarding the Nationalist "delegation" to the UN as expressing the "voice of the Chinese people."

"The Chiang bandit regime," says the article, "has succumbed while the Chinese people have established a new nation of their own, have organized their own political rule, and have expressed their unanimous support for their own leader Mao Tze-tung. A fundamental change has taken place in China. There is no reason in the world why the Chiang bandits should be allowed to enjoy the right of sending a so-called 'delegation' to the UN. . . ."

"The so-called 'delegation' of the Chiang bandits should immediately be driven out of the United Nations, and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China should be recognized as the sole legal government representing the entire body of the Chinese people. . . ."

of gloom, even the full effects of devaluation would not mean a substantial increase in the cost of living.

* * *

The Frank Shah

ACCORDING to Washington reports, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, the Shah of Persia, has won the respect and admiration of Washington's press corps in the short space of four days since he arrived in the United States. They have been impressed, more than by anything else, by his disarming frankness in discussing anything and everything that they care to ask him.

The Shah has said he can see no reason why it is not possible to have normal and friendly relations with Russia.

He has made it equally plain that "Persia intends to maintain her independence," and that to do so will require American assistance. He has made no secret of the fact that he wants more military aid from the United States than the portion of $27,000,000 appropriated by the American Congress for the joint use of Persia, southern Korea and the Philippines.

Washington reports say that it is "beyond doubt" that the Shah had a sympathetic hearing from President Truman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and United States military leaders.

Replying to a toast proposed by the Shah at a dinner at Shoreham Hotel, President Truman said: "We hope we will make the right flank—about which we talked today—as strong as we hope the left flank and the center will be." This was taken to be a reference to the strategy of "containing Communism" through the North Atlantic Pact and other measures. President Truman did not expand on his statement.

Aid To The Center

United States Senator Dennis Chavez said in Rome on November 17 that Spain must be included in America's European Aid Program if the United States is consistent "in the fight against Communism."

Mr. Chavez is one of the seven members of the Senate Appropriations Sub-Committee touring Europe to investigate the working of American aid. They are due to leave for Madrid this week.

He told reporters: "If Spain is being punished for her so-called neutrality during the war, there is no reason why other countries which took the same position should receive aid and not Spain."

Democratic Senator Willis Robertson said: "The Spanish people are proud and warm-hearted. They have the will to work. They have skill and they are brave soldiers."

Work In The Rear

In Washington, Democratic Senator Edwin Johnson said in an interview that Britain recently sought information from the United States on a super-atomic bomb with six times the effectiveness of the one dropped on Nagasaki in 1945.

Mr. Johnson, a member of the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee,

asked to comment on a broadcast in which he said that American scientists had been devoting their time to two things—to make a superbomb and to find some way of detonating a bomb before the fellow that wants to drop it can detonate it—said "We have made considerable progress in that direction."

He said that American scientists had already created a bomb six times as effective as that dropped at Nagasaki, and added: "They want one that has a thousand times the effect of that terrible bomb that was dropped at Nagasaki."

* * *

Russia Condemns War

AT Lake Success, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky presented a resolution in the Political Commission of the United Nations, calling on the General Assembly to "condemn the preparations for a new war now being conducted in a number of countries, and particularly in the United States and Britain."

The resolution also called for immediate adoption of "practical measures" for the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of appropriate strict international control.

Finally it called for a pact "for the strengthening of peace" between the United States, Britain, China, France and the USSR.

Mr. Vyshinsky said that the "Anglo-American majority" in the United Nations had so far rejected all attempts of the Soviet Union to strengthen peace.

He declared that "war psychosis is still raging in the United States and other countries."

* * *

Back In Circulation

AT Tuebingen, in the French zone of Germany, Scholtz-Klink, former leader of 15,000,000 Nazi women, was released from detention on November 17.

Blonde, handsome Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, Hitler's "perfect woman," was classified as a "major nazi offender" by a denazification tribunal which met at Tuebingen in secret. She was sentenced to 19 months' imprisonment, but was released immediately as previous detention counted against the sentence.

The court also ordered the confiscation of all her property, less 3,000 Deutsche marks, but the 47-year-old leader of the former Nazi women's organization said she had none left.

She smiled as she left the court.

Neutrality is Banned

At Koblenz, in the French zone of Germany, on the day before the release of Frau Klink, the German authorities banned a congress of the "Nauheim Circle" of Professor Ulrich Noacks, which advocates German neutrality between the East and West.

The congress was to meet from November 18 to 20 at Rengsdorf, in the French zone, and was to have been attended by visitors from the Soviet zone of Germany.

The Office of the French Land Commissioner for the Rhineland-Palatinate said the German author-

Chinese Magazines Say:

The common political program and its role in the New Democracy: some current questions answered.

WHEN the People's Consultative Council unanimously adopted the Common Political Program, some important issues were raised for discussion. Professor Ho Ssu-Chin, writing in the *Hsin Chieh Shih* (New Reconstruction), October 24, 1949, sums these up in three main questions. They are:—

1) Why does the Common Program not include the supreme objectives of the Communist Platform?
2) What is the final objective of the Common Program?
3) The problem of democratic centralism and unity of the revolutionary classes.

"There have been many," writes Professor Ho, in his reply to the first, "who ask why the Common Program does not include the highest objectives of the political platform of the Communist Party." He goes on to say that some of the delegates themselves, when discussing this question at Peking, felt at first that the Common Program should include the ultimate aims of socialism as embodied in Marxist-Leninist theory. Here he quotes Liu Shao-chi, a vice-chairman, of the Central People's Government Council and Communist Party theoretician, as stating; "The adoption of drastic measures for the realization of socialism in China must be a matter for the future after quite a considerable length of time." Liu had pointed out that China must ultimately march on the road to socialism and communism, but had repeated that a lot of time must elapse before the event.

"For the Communist Party," Professor Ho proceeds, "has correctly recognized that the entry of China into the socialist order must be preceded by the following three objective conditions:

1) The social and economic development of China must reach the stage when socialism may be introduced practically;
2) The rise of a demand for socialism must come from the absolute majority of the people;
3) The decision must be taken jointly by all the democratic parties and groups, public organizations, the minorities and all other patriotic elements.

"It will thus be seen," he sums up, "that the Common Program today includes only the minimum objectives of the Communist Platform." And he outlines the possibility, at some later stage, of the formulation of a new Common Political Program into which will be written the highest objectives of the Communist Party of China.

Question number two deals with the main objective of the present Common Program. The Common Program, Professor Ho points out, consists of 60 articles and a Preamble, but he would summarize its basic meaning and intention thus: "The whole body of the Chinese people stand united to bend their fullest efforts to proceed with constructive measures and to remove evil practices in the country, in the struggle for the development of the nation's productive power under the New Democracy, and for creation of a new civilization; in other words, to struggle for the independence, peace, unity, and strength and prosperity of China."

"The central theme of the Common Program is," therefore, "the development of social productivity within the framework of the New Democracy," and "this theme must permeate the nation's economic, cultural, national, and foreign policies." He adds: "When the Chiang reactionaries are completely wiped out, a production drive on a national basis can immediately be launched in the People's Republic of China."

The third question concerns democratic centralism, or the concentration, in the hands of the people's representatives, of democratic power for action. Professor Ho explains: "Since our fullest efforts must be extended toward the development of social productivity, we must have a General High Command, and a General Mobilization Organization. And this machinery is provided for in the Central People's Government and the local people's governments of various grades. The system of our government is clearly outlined in the Common Program. It is not a parliamentary system, but one based on democratic centralism with the system of the People's Congress."

(That is to say, the various representative parties within the Coalition Government come to an agreement upon a certain course of action, whereupon this action is implemented without opposition, and with the full cooperation of all the people, through their representatives.)

"This democratic centralism system," continues Professor Ho, "is a good one under which the Central Government and the pe[illegible] are merged into one entit[illegible] tralism on the basis o[illegible] takes the form o[illegible] through universal suff[illegible] people's representative[illegible] ers. And democracy [illegible] direction of centralism [illegible] ed through the popular [illegible] of the masses, under [illegible] ship of the directing o[illegible] by the people them[illegible] then, is democrati[illegible]

ities' action had anticipated an intended French ban.

The ban was based on the grounds that those attending the congress might "endanger the constitutional existence of the Federal German Republic and threaten public security."

Steel Is Legal

At Bonn, West German Federal Government authorities expressed high hopes of a speedy Allied decision to end all dismantling at about 30 factories in West Germany not directly concerned with war production. A government spokesman stating this after a cabinet meeting held in Bonn on November 18, forecast that negotiations with the three allied High Commissioners would end next week.

The government was also seeking a revision of the Ruhr Statute to incorporate West Germany, the spokesman said. Such revision, made possible by the agreement of all its signatories, would bring her more closely into the family of European nations.

The Office of the Land Commissioner for North Rhine-Westphalia announced that dismantling "had practically come to an end" at the following plants: August Thyssen Steel Works at Duisberg, Ruhr Steel Works at Hattingen, Charlotten Steel Works at Niederfelde, Gelsenberg petrol plant at Gelsenkirchen, Huels Chemical Works, and the Borsig Works in Berlin.

A report from Hanover said the government of Lower Saxony made a new appeal to Dr. Adenauer, West German Chancellor, to intervene to end the dismantling of the former Hermann Goering Steel Works near Hanover.

* * *

Bevin and Churchill

THE House of Commons, in London, was crowded on November 17 as members gathered to hear Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin give a review of world affairs at the beginning of a one-day debate on foreign policy.

Bevin urged the British Parliament to be "very moderate" in dealing with the problem of Germany's readmission "to the European family." He said: "We have bitter memories of the 1914 War and what happened subsequently and the feeling is much deeper in France than it is here."

He said that in relations with the United States the lack of financial and economic equilibrium between the dollar and the sterling areas had been a disturbing factor. "We want to bring about a sound relationship between Europe, the Commonwealth and the United States and in that way we are aiming to shape one free world."

In reply to Mr. Bevin, Winston Churchill, leader of the Conservative Party opposition, urged the government to "speed up the admission of Germany to the Assembly of Europe."

one to[illegible] Mr. Bevin's speech as a particular [illegible]r. Churchill said that lieve that or[illegible]retary had lost a great is fulfilled a [illegible] proficient [illegible]hat at the meeting of field. It is [illegible] Europe at Strasbourg, the article [illegible]d other British Labor possess a [illegible] "lost all effective con- the fundar[illegible] own socialist comrades ciples, all o[illegible]ely threw away what ing will be a[illegible]alist Party has long raising the le[illegible] the leadership of sciousness, by ma[illegible]one."

The Week's Business

THE week under review from November 17 to 23 continued to witness price spirallings, as quotations in general averaged increases from 50 to 60 percent.

Via-a-vis these spurts in prices, the authorities moved against speculations and manipulations, which still constituted the main detrimental factor for the fluctuations in the market. On November 18 and 19, the local Public Security Bureau made a number of raids on the downtown black-market centers, placing under arrest 60 racketeers who traded in gold and foreign currencies, including such notorious figures as Lin Lo-keng and Wang Yung-kong. Some 20 more "Yellow Ox" black-market dealers were arrested at the same time in Chapei and Nantao.

Meanwhile, regulating supply and demand in the commodity markets, the local state trading organ continued dumping of commodities to the value of billions of JMP worth daily, including such staples as rice, wheat flour, yarn, cloth, sugar and so forth. One hundred local rice retail shops were commissioned by the Shanghai Food Company to sell rice to the public, while a number of unscrupulous rice merchants who forced up the quotations of rice by taking advantage of the recent price fluctuations were placed under arrest by the authorities on November 17.

Coordinating these drastic steps of the People's Government, the Shanghai Branch of the People's Bank of China began to tighten credit in the market through the promotion of the parity deposits and recalling maturing loans.

To date, the parity deposits at the People's Bank are reported to have jumped from some 3,000,000 to 12,000,000 units. An increasing number of employees and workers of private enterprises are said now making these deposits to protect themselves from the price rises, thus enabling the People's Bank to withdraw considerable sums of capital from the market. The rate of the parity deposit unit, showing well the bullish development in commodity prices, shot up from JMP1,855 on November 16 to JMP 3,158 on November 23, an increase of 70 percent.

What with the daily heavy sales of supplies, the tightening of credit in the market and the yet rampant speculations, the money situation in the local market was naturally extremely stringent during the past week. Large sums were called in daily by the People's Bank and other government banks, and on November 22, they amounted to as much as JMP9,200,000,000.

Interest rates soared for the call loans. Even among the banking circles, the official interest rates were raised to the new high of JMP12 per mille per day on deposits, JMP32 per mille per day on interbank loans, and JMP40 per mille per day on call loans. The Cooperative and Savings Department of the People's Bank also hiked the interest rates on the short term deposits to JMP33 per mille per day for terms of seven days, JMP33.5 per mille per day for terms of 15 days and JMP34 per mille per day for terms of 30 days. The curb rates were understood to be much higher.

At these high interest rates and under the unprecedented stringency in the financial market, four local banks, all reported to be unsound and to have been indulging in speculative activities, failed during the week. These banks included the Heng Lee Bank, the Hua Feng Native Bank, the Tung Hua Industrial Bank, and the Chi Cong Native Bank.

The four banks were unable to square their accounts at the Shanghai Clearing House, and were found engaged in illegal transactions. Accordingly, the Financial Department of the Shanghai Military Control Commission issued orders for the liquidation of these unsound financial establishments.

Also phenominal at the Clearing House during the week was the jump in turnover figures for dishonored checks. On November 22, the rubber checks issued reached a new high of JMP2,796,981,742, numbering 1,673 checks, out of a total turnover of JMP172,382,178,018, numbering 169,151 checks.

Aiming at checking the deteriorating credit in the market, the People's Bank of China recently handed over the executives of 12 local concerns on charges of issuing bad checks. The culprits were duly fined, ranging from JMP 50,000 to JMP6,000,000 each.

For the recent export trade of Shanghai, approximately JMP 5,000,000,000 worth of goods, including tea, straw hats, embroideries and sundry goods, were reported exported from this port during the period from November 9 to 17. The total amount of exports for the first half of the current month is said to have reached JMP10,000,000,000, or equivalent to the total exports for the whole month of October.

Reports reaching here from Tientsin stated that direct shipping service will be established between the North China port and San Francisco beginning from December.

Following is a listing of representative commodity commodity prices for the past week:

	Nov. 16	Nov. 23
Parity Unit	JMP1,855	JMP3,158
US dollar (note)	6,700	9,500
20's yarn	2,300,000	3,370,000
12 lb. cloth	100,000	150,000
Rice, 1st grade	98,000	135,000
Peanut oil	260,000	335,000
Coal briquette	8,100	13,000

LETTERS

(Continued from page 193)

mix-ups, in teaching instead of beating offenders, in leading in city-wide campaigns for cleanliness, physical culture, and fire and theft prevention. These things I could have cited as against preliberation instances of extortion, bludgeoning and begging.

But since that statement came to my ears on the 7th, and it was on the 4th that my three-year old daughter was lost in a heavy traffic district of Tientsin, I could counter with a very vital experience.

It was the opening day of the Industrial Exhibition and everyone was talking about "Ming Yuan," the site of the exhibition. In fact, I had taken my seven-year old son there. Carol, the going-on-four, was to go to her ballet lesson at four o'clock with her five-year old sister. But when it came time to go, Carol was nowhere to be found and the front gate was open. Our "amah" set out on foot and the cook on his bicycle to scour the neighborhood. A sweet potato peddler told the "amah" the child had passed by with two old women. "Amah" thought of kidnapping and pounded on faster. Many peddlers had noticed the child with her fair hair and skin but Chinese features. But she had run on, they said, and described an assortment of different people with her.

When the cook arrived at a bridge where three main streets converge, the policeman on the beat there told him he had seen the child running among trucks and pedicabs and had caught her to ask where she was going. She answered "Ming Yuan" and was crying because she couldn't find it. The ingenious policeman said he had then sent her to a Russian teacher who, he thought, would be able to talk with her and find out where she lives. Carol said she was Chinese and continued talking only in that language. So the policeman carried her to the neighborhood sub-station where the cook and amah traced her down.

But the vigilance of the police did not end with her being found, nor even with her obvious recognition of the two. The police authorities further required the father's "chop" and also got in touch with our next door substation for indentification of the two servants.

When Buddy and I returned from the Exhibition at six o'clock, we found Carol safe at home, telling what a good time she'd had.

The American evacué made no reply, and I suppose with him my experience ended with the telling. Anyway, somewhere (deep, probably) in his consciousness must lie the episode he knows is true. It may even pop to the surface unexpectedly some time. Let's hope!

AN AMERICAN READER

Tientsin
November 8, 1949

STAND FIRM

To The Editor:

I have been a constant reader of your magazine before and after liberation, missing only the few copies issued during the time between the liberation of Peking and Shanghai. Since liberation I have never missed a single copy of the Review, reading eagerly your editorials and articles in each issue.

Contrary to the opinion of "American reader," (Review, October 22, 1949) I find that I have nothing so far to object to about your magazine's objectivity. In my opinion, the objectivity of a newspaper or magazine is none other than the truthful presentation of an unbiased picture of things as they are. Some people think that a paper cannot be objective unless it assumes a superior position to all parties, applauding and criticizing both sides at the same time and giving "two sides to every question." But the fact is such objectivity is just a farce to hide other intentions. Taking into account all developments of affairs in China since liberation, I think the Review is quite right in saying that it is giving a picture of events in China which is every bit as objective as in the past.

Moreover, as to the question of "courage," I think one can only say that you have shown more courage than any other foreign paper in China by stating outright your attitude and taking a definite stand on any given issue, which is more than any other "courageous" paper can boast of.

In pursuing your present course, I am sure that you will meet with many difficulties and perhaps lose some of your former readers who are finding it hard to put up with the general state of things prevailing in China. Yet I beg you to remember that you have the full support of all progressive people in China as long as you stand firm.

SEN-CHUN HSIEH

Tsing Hua University
Peking
November 4, 1949

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The Review's English Lesson CVII

More Questions

THIS week, we shall continue with the explanation of certain expressions from previous issues, requested by one of our readers:

Count: As a verb, to count is to tell or name, one by one; to number. As a noun, it means the act of numbering, a reckoning, accounting. In its legal sense, it means a particular allegation or change in a declaration or indictment; thus, it is said, "He was judged guilty on all counts." The sentence in the *Review* was, "This news should also be an unpleasant pill for the American administration on another count." Here, "count" means reason—the news is unpleasant for another reason—using the word in a sense analogous to the legal usage, as one of many particular reasons.

Slack: As in, "to take up the slack." As an adjective, the word means careless, slow, listless, relaxed (a slack rope), weak, soft, not busy (a slack season for business), or inadequate. As a noun, the slack is any part that hangs loose, or a lull in activity, a dull season. The expression was used as follows: "A full-scale rearmament program inevitably takes up the slack in the economy since factories and farms are mobilized to produce . . . for a large military machine." A capitalist economy, producing goods for profit, piles up enormous quantities of goods which the masses cannot buy, thus producing factory shut-downs and ruined farmers—a "slack in the economy." One of the solutions for this state of affairs is to create war hysteria and carry out an armament program with public money, thus "taking up the slack."

Dead duck: "Dead" is a word of Anglo-Saxon derivation which, in addition to its most common meaning of lifeless, inanimate, has come to be used in many different expressions with various shades of meaning. Thus it can mean not literally dead, but manifesting absence of sensation, consciousness, as "a dead faint;" being without feeling, spirit, etc., as "dead to pity;" colloquially, very tired, as "I'm dead," or "I'm dead tired; stagnant, without motion, as "dead air;" lacking in elasticity or resilience, as "a dead ball;" dull, tame, quiet, as "a dead season;" without significance, as "a dead custom;" barren, as "dead soil;" having no outlet, as "a dead hole" (a street with no outlet is called "a dead end"); lacking fire, glow, luster, as "a dead grey;" as certain, complete as death, as "a dead shot," "a dead loss," "a dead level," "a dead weight;" a wire not one to [illegible] with a source of electricity is "a dead particular [illegible] lieve that or[illegible]utely, utterly, as "dead ripe;" with is fulfilled a [illegible]page of motion, as "he stopped proficient i[illegible]tly, exactly, as "The gunboat lay field. It is [illegible] the article." The phrase "a dead duck" possess a [illegible]ning completely ineffective or use- the fundar[illegible]tence ran, in part, ". . . Truman's ciples, all o[illegible]ram—an election promise— ing will be [illegible] raising the l[illegible] detracked by Congress and sciousness, by [illegible] abandoned by Truman himself. Thus, Truman's promise for social reform, made while he was contending for the Presidential election, was, like so many such promises made by candidates, entirely forgotten later on." Why the phrase should be "a dead duck," rather than "a dead mouse," for instance, we do not know. Can one of our readers tell us?

On the record: Make an official or public written statement. Often, politicians making speeches will request that some of their remarks be stricken (taken off) from the record—that is, they will not appear in the official notes of the meeting or session. In journalism, as for example in the sentence used ("While stories of corruption and misuse of office may have become somewhat boring to many of our readers, it is important, we believe, to put some facts and figures on the record"), the expression means that we shall now proceed to make public some facts and figures showing the corruption (during the KMT regime).

All too often: Very often; many times; most frequently. The whole sentence ran, "All too often the public is inclined to dismiss stories of excesses in days past as merely propaganda put out at the time and as unlikely to be true." That is, it is important that the public realize that facts of corruption of a former regime be believed by the public, which, too frequently, forgets sueh things, or buries the remembrance under the gloss of "propaganda."

Incredible record: This sentence unfortunately contained a typographical error as printed. It should have run, "Certainly the incredible record of the KMT's reign should be set down as an important piece of history." That is, the almost unbelievable record of KMT corruption should be written down, because it is historically important. The sentence as printed had "to" instead of "of."

Maintain accounts: The whole sentence was "The most common practice was for, say T. V. Soong, Chen Li-fu, or some other important politico to maintain one or more such accounts (secret accounts) in the Central Bank, Bank of China, or other government banks." To maintain an account is merely to keep an account, to open an account and continue its active operation. A "politico" is of course a political figure, a politician.

Lived off: The sentence was, "The KMT has admittedly lived off the printing press for more than a decade." To live off is to exist by means of. We say, "The army lived off the land," that is, the army plundered and robbed the people. A capitalist lives off the labor power of others, or interest on his capital, etc. In the present example, the idea is that the KMT, having squeezed the people of their wealth, and caring nothing for development of the country's resources, resorted to the expedient of printing money to pay its expenses.

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